

# Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art

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For Hugo Buchthal on his 85th birthday, 11 August 1994

Cyprus' art has long been studied as a meeting ground of Western and Byzantine traditions.<sup>1</sup> Yet the effort to distinguish the Italian from among the many Western traditions encountered there quickly shows that the most basic aspects of Cyprus' artistic relationship with western Europe have yet to be understood. The very components embraced by the term "Western" have yet to be sorted out, to say nothing of the likely avenues of interchange by which they traveled. Western European elements reached Cyprus directly from the West, albeit from many different regions whose contributions are still poorly differentiated. But Western elements also reached Cyprus indirectly through Near Eastern traditions affected in one way or another by the Western presence in the Near and Middle East. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the hybrid, half-Byzantine art variously linked with Venice as "the art of the *lingua franca*" or with the Holy Land as "Crusader art" is widely associated with or even attributed to Cyprus, raising complex questions about the relation of local to imported traditions there;<sup>2</sup> later, the impact of the so-called Cretan School raises questions once again about the relative roles of Byzantium and the West in shaping Cyprus' art.<sup>3</sup> Thus singling out the Italians—themselves diverse and varied—from other Western groups is difficult at best. Accordingly, this article offers less a finished study than a series of observations intended to help

<sup>1</sup>Key resources for a study of medieval art on Cyprus include D. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon*, n.s., 1–2 (1985–86), 9–112; A. Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες της Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 1991), reprinted in English as *Icons of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1992); and A. Stylianou and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art* (London, 1985). I owe sincere gratitude to Sophocles Sophocleous, Valentino Pace, and Barbara Zeitler for reviewing this text, which—I know—will wholly satisfy none of them.

<sup>2</sup>The classic studies of this art include H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957); K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *DOP* 20 (1966), 51–83 (reprinted in idem, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* [Princeton, 1982], art. XII); H. Belting, "Introduction," in *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, Atti del XXIV Congresso di storia dell'arte, ed. H. Belting, II (Bologna, 1979), 3 and passim. On the relation of this art to Cyprus, see V. Pace, "Icone di Puglia, della Terra Santa e Cipro: Appunti preliminari per un'indagine sulla ricezione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale duecentesca," in *ibid.*, 181–91; D. Mouriki, "The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus," in *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. I. Hutter, SBWien, 432. Band (1984), 171–213.

<sup>3</sup>P. L. Vokotopoulos, "Κρητικές επιδράσεις στην κυπριακή ζωγραφική του 16ου αιώνα," in *Πρακτικά του δευτέρου κυπριολογικού συνεδρίου*, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1986), II, 587–90.

shape the way we think about artistic production on Cyprus and the intimate interpenetration of cultures that characterizes it.

The Western presence in medieval Cyprus presents itself today and has been studied largely in terms of the island's opulent Gothic architecture, rising amid minarets and palm trees in the Mediterranean sun (Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Astonishingly romantic, these buildings invoke an image of French courtly culture transposed to the Middle East. Like all romances, however, the cathedrals of Cyprus convey the impossibility of what they purport to portray. Rather than actualities, they are images. They are so for at least two reasons that engage us here. One of these is the very intricate interpenetration of cultures that characterizes both their liturgies and their physical fabric.<sup>5</sup> The Greeks of Famagusta, after all, had a Gothic cathedral, too (Fig. 2), its nave lined with niche tombs like those in Gothic cathedrals of the West: even in death the fashions of Famagusta's leading Orthodox families were Gothic.<sup>6</sup> The Latin cathedral of Nicosia, in turn, displays on its porch narrow niches whose shallow cavities cannot have accommodated statuary but must have been fitted instead with icons (Fig. 3).<sup>7</sup>

How one might imagine icons adapted for display in Gothic settings is suggested by a series of tall, narrow panels from the Chrysaliniotissa Church in Nicosia that seem to have been made for display against piers or in shallow, attenuated niches.<sup>8</sup> The best preserved of the four that survive is dated to 1356 or very shortly thereafter (Fig. 4).<sup>9</sup> Beneath an upper triad of Christ and two angels it displays a second triad of two parents and their daughter (Fig. 5). The parents, Manuel Xeros the *anagnostes* and his wife Eu-

<sup>4</sup>See C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1899), recently published in translation as *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. and ed. D. Hunt (London, 1987); T. S. R. Boase, "The Arts in Cyprus, A: Ecclesiastical Art," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, IV, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard (Madison, Wisc., 1977), 165–95.

<sup>5</sup>We know a certain amount about the interpenetration of Greek and Latin liturgies on Cyprus. Thus the magnificent Turin Codex, produced on Cyprus around 1413 to 1420 and containing the most progressive settings for the mass that survive from the generation before Dufay, includes masses for the feast days not only of Latin but of Cypriot saints: see *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, ed. R. H. Hoppin, 4 vols. in 2, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 21 (Rome, 1960), i–iii; idem, "The Cypriot-French Repertory of Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9," *Musica Disciplina* 11 (1957), 79–125. Philippe de Mézières introduced the Byzantine feast of the Presentation of the Virgin to the Latin Church in 1365 on the basis of its inclusion already in the calendar of the Latin Church of Cyprus: G. La Piana, "The Byzantine Iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple and a Latin Religious Pageant," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, N.J., 1955), 261–71, esp. 264; K. Young, "Philippe de Mézières' Dramatic Office for the Presentation of the Virgin," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 26 (1911), 181–234. In turn, the Greek Church in the 13th century offers us our earliest complete Passion play, with a preface clearly reflecting a Western model: A. C. Mahr, *The Cyprus Passion Cycle*, *Publications in Medieval Studies* 9 (Notre Dame, Ind., 1947), 78 and passim.

<sup>6</sup>Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance*, 255–57. The enthusiasm seen in Cypriot pottery for Gothic themes, such as hawking or amorous knights, suggests that the romantic Gothic image was adopted as much by Greek as by European Cypriots: see D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, "La céramique à glaçure dans la Chypre du moyen-âge," in *La France aux portes de l'Orient: Chypre XIIème–XVème siècle*, ed. J. Charles-Gaffiot, exhib. cat., Centre culturel du Panthéon (Paris, 1991), 172. Cypriot tolerance was not unlimited, however, as illustrated perhaps most starkly by the murder of King Peter I.

<sup>7</sup>Boase, "The Arts in Cyprus," 171; Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance*, 127.

<sup>8</sup>Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες της κύπρου*, 62–64, pls. 39–41; D. T. Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1937), 100–109.

<sup>9</sup>Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες της Κύπρου*, pl. 39; Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus*, 100–105.

phemia—Greek in name, family, and language—tenderly present to Christ their daughter Maria who died a virgin in 1356.<sup>10</sup> The artistic quality of the panel is superb. Maria is magnificently clothed in crimson garments criss-crossed with a grid of golden fishes; in fashion they correspond closely to the just contemporary Constantinopolitan portraits in the parecclesion at St. Savior in Chora.<sup>11</sup>

Although similar in garb to the portraits in the Chora, Maria differs in gesture. Her arms crossed on her chest, she appears in an ambiguous manner that might equally be understood as standing up or lying down full-length. Her crossed arms repeat a gesture long used in Byzantine art to denote death.<sup>12</sup> As a gesture, it has an interesting history in the Byzantine art of Cyprus: St. Neophytos had also commended himself to the angels in the full-length pose with crossed arms,<sup>13</sup> and in a curious, thirteenth-century mural painting at Akhelia on Cyprus similarly posed figures in rich, contemporary clothing are aligned beneath looming figures of Sts. Peter and Paul.<sup>14</sup> By the time the Akhelia portraits were painted, the full-length image with crossed arms in conspicuously sumptuous clothing had acquired a standardized context on Cyprus. This is the posture assumed on tomb plaques.<sup>15</sup> The plaques are of Gothic type; Orthodox families used them, too, however, and though the distinction is not absolute, the Latins tended to show their hands joined in prayer while the Greeks tended to show their hands crossed (Fig. 6).<sup>16</sup> The icon of Maria, then, is hybrid in form, uniting the Orthodox tradition of the commemorative votive panel painting with the Latin tradition of the splendidly costumed commemorative gisant. In fact, a fragmentary Greek funeral plaque from Nicosia displays the heads of two young women crowned with the same kind of golden fillet with pendilia that encircles the head of Maria.<sup>17</sup> Here Orthodox verbal and visual language,

<sup>10</sup>The inscriptions read: Δέησις της δοῦλης τοῦ θεοῦ Ευφημίας. Δέησις τοῦ δοῦλου του θεοῦ Μανουηλ ἀναγνώστης του Ξηρου. Ἐκοιμηθη ἡ δοῦλη του θεοῦ Μαρία παρθένος θυγάτηρ τοῦ κύριου Μανουηλ ἀναγνώστης τοῦ Ξηροῦ ἐν ἐτῇ, ςΩΞΔ μῆνι ἀυγουστος ἡμέρα ᾠ. There is a village of Xeros in northern Cyprus not far from Morphou: J. C. Goodwin, *An Historical Toponymy of Cyprus*, 4th ed. (Nicosia, 1984), 1330, s.v. Pendaria.

<sup>11</sup>P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols. (New York, 1966), I, 272–76 and III, pl. 535; I, 288–92 and III, pl. 547 (tombs C, F).

<sup>12</sup>H. Belting, "An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81), 7 and pl. 6; D. Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period," *GOTR* 29 (1984), 129.

<sup>13</sup>R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (Oxford, 1985), chap. 6.

<sup>14</sup>Stylianou and Stylianou, *The Painted Churches*, 407–9, fig. 245; V. Karageorghis, *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities for the Year 1985* (Nicosia, 1986), 25, pls. 35–36; idem, *The A. G. Leventis Foundation and the Cultural Heritage of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1990), 30–31 and color pl. p. 31.

<sup>15</sup>For the major corpus of plaques, see T. J. Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossiensis: Recueil d'inscriptions funéraires la plupart françaises existant encore dans l'île de Chypre*, I (Paris, 1894). I know of one other example of frescoed portraits shown in this posture with crossed hands—in the little chapel of St. John outside the walls of the lower town at Mistra. Kyra Kale Kavalassa, shown both as a lay person and as the nun Kalliniki, is portrayed in full-length along with her daughter Anna, also shown frontally with crossed hands, and her son Theodore, who kneels in proskynesis. The placement of the portrait in an apsed niche at the west end of the chapel's south wall joins with the posture to suggest that it is a funerary portrait in which all but the son are portrayed as deceased. See R. Etzeoglou, "Quelques remarques sur les portraits figurés dans les églises de Mistra," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982), 518; M. Chatzidakis, *Mystras* (Athens, 1981), 109.

<sup>16</sup>For the posture with crossed hands, see Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossiensis*, pl. xxiv 258. On the other hand, the Latin monk, pl. v 50, has his hands crossed, while the Greek woman in pl. xxiii 145 has hers in prayer.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, pl. viii 174, 109. Cypriot funerals were very public affairs that attracted the commentary of many Western visitors; the Frenchman Le Saige (1518) speaks specifically of the rich attire of the deceased: C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1908), 60, quoted by Rice, *The Icons of*

colored by Cypriot tradition, adapts to a Gothic space and funerary form.<sup>18</sup> While the Gothic might be called hegemonic in offering the shape of the space and ritual, the panel's consummate quality scarcely bespeaks oppression. Instead, it implies an intimate interpenetration of cultures.

It is within this context of intricate interpenetration that one should also view the Italian role in Cyprus' art. In making observations on Italian elements in painting, we must bear always in mind that the messages we find there are to a significant extent medium-specific. Other media would yield other patterns.<sup>19</sup> Pursuing the Italian component throws into relief our second reason for viewing Cyprus' Gothic churches as romance rather than reality. We might illustrate this with the journey of King Peter I of Cyprus (1359–69) to Europe in 1363–65. Peter traveled from court to court in splendid magnificence, becoming Europe's chivalric hero *par excellence*, the golden-haired knight who accomplished impossible victories over the infidel in a fabulous kingdom far away.<sup>20</sup> Yet almost all of his correspondence that survives from this journey—and though survival is determined by the recipient, the ratio is notable—is addressed to commercial cities,<sup>21</sup> above all those in Italy, and dedicated to the fundamental purpose of Peter's journey: namely, to make Cyprus the dominant commercial power at the eastern end of a trade axis running from Cilicia to the western Mediterranean.<sup>22</sup> The French Gothic image was, precisely, a romance, as romantic in the fourteenth century as it was in the nineteenth,<sup>23</sup> overlying the hard-fisted and largely commercial competition with the Italian city-states to become, as Leontios Makhairas repeatedly has the sultan say, the chief among the Western trading powers.<sup>24</sup>

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*Cyprus*, 105. Le Saige was speaking of the burial of a young woman, and I believe the suggestion made by Haris Kalligas at a symposium discussion session is very apt—that in the case of the icon of Maria and the plaque with the crowned girls we are seeing young women who died before marriage being buried in their bridal garments and marriage wreath.

<sup>18</sup>A similar conflation is suggested by A. La Barre Starensier, "An Art Historical Study of the Byzantine Silk Industry," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1982), I, 367, for the embroidered silk funerary portrait of Maria of Mangop, wife of Stephen the Great of Moldavia, who died in 1477.

<sup>19</sup>Contrast, for instance, the observations of Constantine Constantinides (*Dated Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, DOS 30, Cyprus Research Centre Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus 11 [Washington, D.C., 1993]) on Cypriot palaeography in the 14th and 15th centuries, those of Papanikola-Bakirtzis on glazed pottery ("La céramique à glaçure," 169–75), or those forthcoming of Ursula Günther on music.

<sup>20</sup>L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852), II, 2339 ff, n. 1, outlines Peter's precise itinerary; idem, "Guillaume de Machaut et la prise d'Alexandrie," *BEC* 37 (1876), 9–11.

<sup>21</sup>Given in Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, II, 248–73; III, 741–58.

<sup>22</sup>On these ambitions, see P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 171; idem, "Cyprus and Genoa: The Origins of the War of 1373–1374," in Πρακτικά του δευτέρου διεθνούς κυπριολογικού συνεδρίου, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1986), II, 109–26. For the argument that Cyprus—rather than taking over the existing role of the Syro-Lebanese mainland—took its place in the later 13th and 14th centuries along a newly formed axis of trade running from Ayas in Cilicia to Languedoc, see M. Balard, "L'activité commerciale en Chypre dans les années 1300," in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 257.

<sup>23</sup>In the 19th century this romanticism extended beyond scholarship to public painting, as illustrated by *The Feast of Five Kings* by Chevalier Taylor in the Royal Exchange, London, reproduced in *Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History*, ed. D. Hunt (London, 1982), 181.

<sup>24</sup>See L. Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. and trans. R. M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), I, 157, 179.

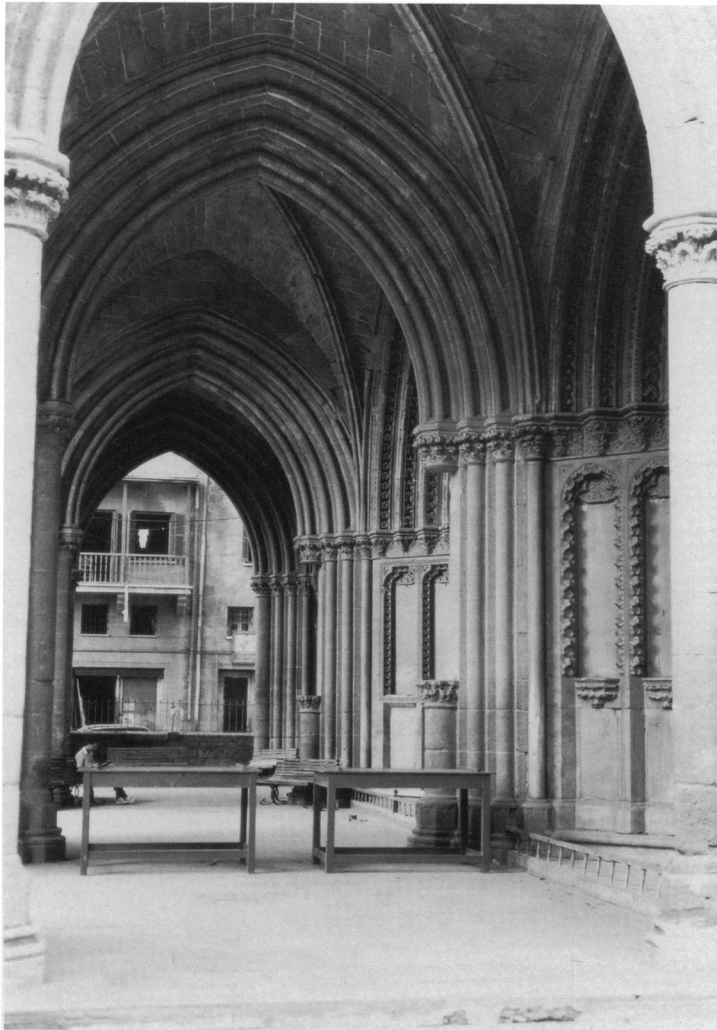




1 Nicosia, Cathedral of Saint Sophia



2 Famagusta, Church of Saint George of the Greeks



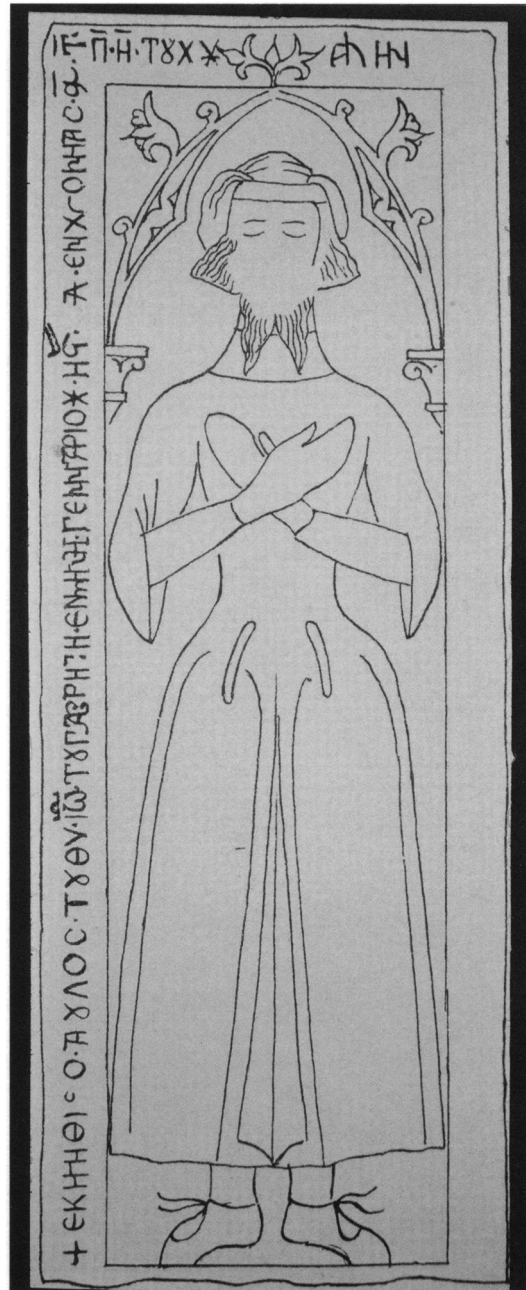
3 Nicosia, Cathedral of Saint Sophia, west porch



4 Memorial icon of 1356.  
Nicosia, Museum of the  
Archbishop Makarios III  
Cultural Foundation  
(photo: Michael Xenophon,  
with permission of the  
Archbishop Makarios III  
Cultural Foundation)



5 Memorial icon of 1356,  
detail of Maria and her parents  
(photo: *ibid.*)



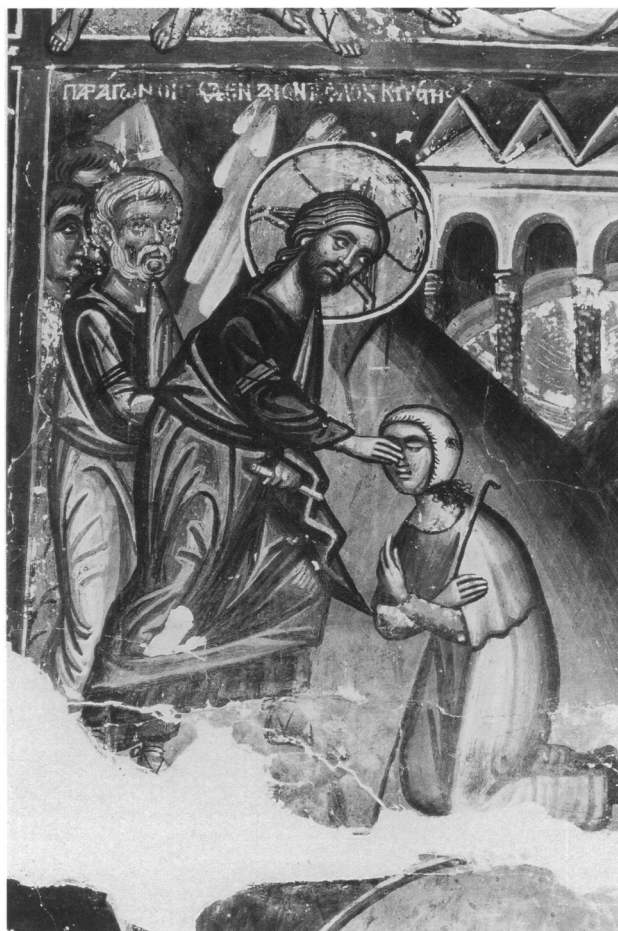
6 Tomb plaque of John Gavrilis. Nicosia  
(after T. J. Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossenses*  
[Paris, 1894], pl. xxiv, 258)



7 Crucifixion, 1502. Galata, Panagia Podithou



8 Post-Passion scenes, by Symeon Axentis, 1514. Galata, Church of the Archangel or Panagia Theotokos



9 Christ heals the Blind Man at Siloam, by Philip Goul, 1495. Louvaras, Church of Saint Mamas



10 Evangelist Luke, before 1375. Pelendri, Church of the Holy Cross



11 Portraits of a lord and lady of the Lusignan family, before 1375. Pelendri, Church of the Holy Cross



12 Scenes of the life of the Virgin Mary, before 1375. Pelendri, Church of the Holy Cross



13 Visitation, detail, before 1375.  
Pelendri, Church of the Holy Cross



14 Passion scenes with portraits of King Janus, Queen Charlotte, and a bishop, 1421. Pyrga, Royal Chapel

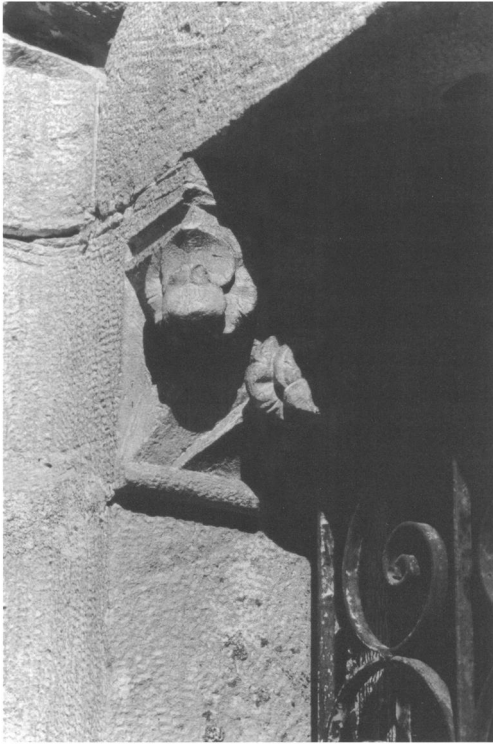


15 Koimesis with a bishop, 1421. Pyrga, Royal Chapel



16 Lyso, Chryseleousa Church, from southwest





17 Lyso, Chryseleousa Church, south window, detail of east capital



18 Lyso, Chryseleousa Church, south window, detail of west capital



19 Lyso, Chryseleousa Church, detail of ornament on the narthex



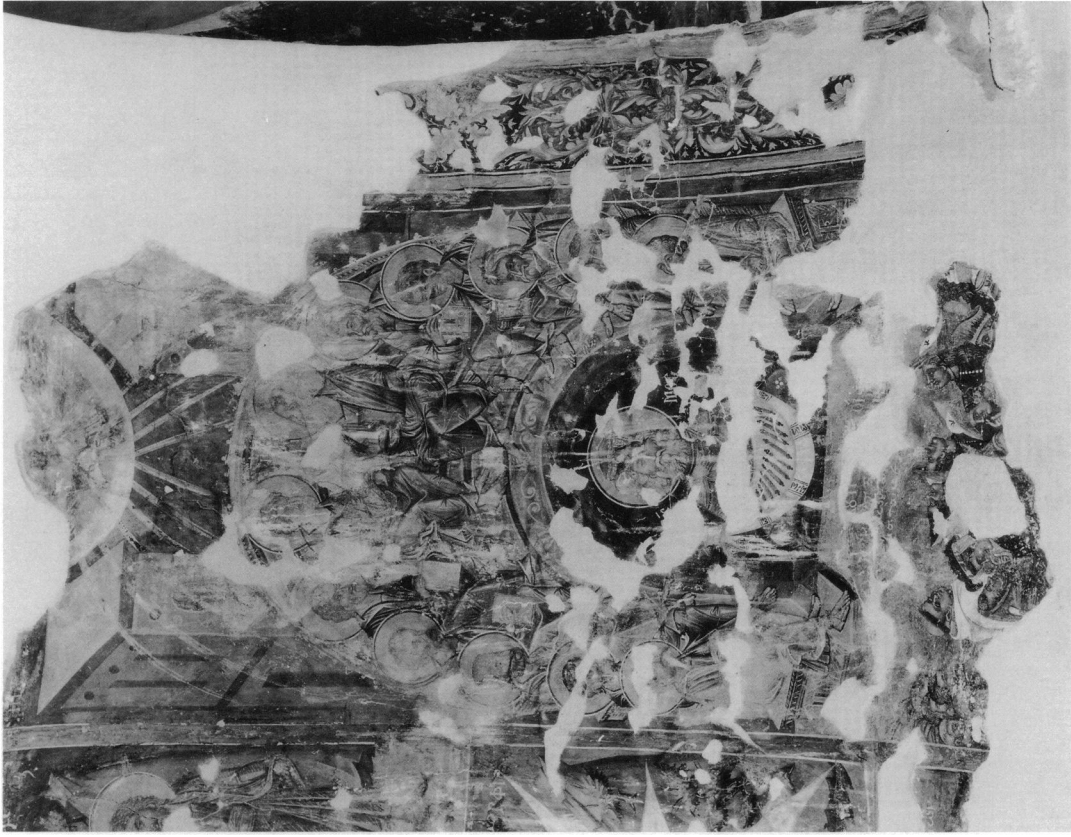
20 Fresco icon of Virgin and Child. Lyso, Chryseleousa Church, east window (photo: Rovertos Antoniadis)



21 Virgin and Child, detail.  
Moscow, Pushkin Museum  
(after V. Lazarev, *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*  
[Moscow, 1948], pl. 459)



22 Archangel Gabriel, detail.  
Kalogrea, Church of Christ Antiphonites  
(photo: Dumbarton Oaks)



23a detail

23 Pentecost, fifteenth century. Letympou, Church of Saints Kyrkos and Ioulitta (photo: Cyprus Department of Antiquities)

We know the Italian role in Cypriot painting above all from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially after the fall of Constantinople. Traditionally this period is cited as a dismal one.<sup>25</sup> In fact, however, it is among the richest of all periods of Cypriot painting, represented by more than twenty surviving mural cycles and dozens of icons.<sup>26</sup> It is important to be aware that in the volume of surviving painting the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries both far outweigh the fourteenth century, the period of Cyprus' economic boom. Caveats about the disappearance of the island's urban art notwithstanding, it seems clear that the wealthy, and probably also wealth itself, were more widely distributed at this time than in the boom-town days of the fourteenth century. Italian elements appear during this period in all kinds of ways.

Cyprus offers us the oldest examples of the iconostases that became widespread in the Orthodox areas of the Venetian empire, displaying Venetian cabinetry with panels of the crucified Christ and his mourners affixed above.<sup>27</sup> It also offers many hybrid easel paintings, such as the votive icon of 1512 from St. Chrysostomos—missing since 1974—in which a Greek-speaking mother and son, Venetian in name and costume, are presented to the Virgin Mary in a Venetian composition by Cyprus' native son among the saints, John Eleemon.<sup>28</sup> Its patrons might have crossed paths with Demetre de Coron, Orthodox lord of Latin name, who commissioned just a decade earlier in 1502 the superb proto-Mannerist paintings at the little church of the Panagia Podithou near Galata (Fig. 7).<sup>29</sup> If Demetre de Coron sponsored a cycle in Italian style, his contemporaries Polo of the Cypriot Zaccaria family and his Catholic wife Madalena had their church of 1514—located maybe thirty meters from that of Demetre—frescoed by the local painter Symeon Axentis, an artist of more traditionally Byzantine cast who nonetheless incorporates one of the earlier of the known examples of the Western Resurrection iconography alongside his Byzantine Anastasis (Fig. 8).<sup>30</sup> Axentis may have studied with the slightly earlier Philip Goul, a painter of Syrian background who makes particularly intriguing

<sup>25</sup>J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Monuments vénétiens de Chypre," in *Venezia e ed il Levante al secolo XV*, ed. A. Pertusi, 2 vols. in 3 (Florence, 1974), II, 211–28.

<sup>26</sup>A. Papageorgiou, "Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι του 15ου και 16ου αιώνα," in *Report of the Department of Antiquities for 1974* (Nicosia, 1974), 195–209.

<sup>27</sup>M. Kazanake-Lappa, "Ο ξυλόγλυπτος σταυρός της Εὐαγγελίστριας τοῦ Λιβόρνου <1643> καὶ οἱ σταυροὶ ἐπιστυλίου στὰ Κρητικά τέμπλα," in *Εὐφρόσυνον: Αφιέρωμα στὸ Μανόλη Χατζιδάκη*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1991), I, 230 and passim. Despite the late date of the cross discussed here, it is perhaps worth noting that the community that commissioned it was heavily Cypriot, including the priest who signed the contract: see C. Charon, "L'Eglise grecque catholique de Livourne," *EO* 11 (1908), 228–30.

<sup>28</sup>Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες της Κύπρου* (as in note 1 above), 141 and pl. 95. The donor is Maria de Molino.

<sup>29</sup>Stylianou and Stylianou, *The Painted Churches* (as in note 1), 98–104; for Demetre de Coron, see 99. The painter seen here may be responsible also for the paintings of the Akathistos Hymn in the so-called Latin Chapel at the monastery of St. John Lampadistes in Kalopanagiotis (*ibid.*, 312–19), but the kind of Mannerism found in his work is not unique on Cyprus: see the icon of the Anastasis from the Chrysaliniotissa Church in Nicosia, now in the Archiepiscopal Museum, reproduced by Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες της κύπρου*, 155 and pl. 111. The murals of the Panagia Podithou are the subject of a forthcoming doctoral dissertation by Stella Frigerio-Zeniou (University of Geneva).

<sup>30</sup>Stylianou and Stylianou, *The Painted Churches*, 90–97. I am indebted to Weigelt Rudt de Collenberg for identifying Polo Zaccaria. On Symeon Axentis, see T. Paliouras, "Ο Κύπριος ζωγράφος Συμεών Αυξέντης και τα καλλιτεχνικά ρεύματα του 16ου αιώνα," in *Πρακτικά του δευτέρου διεθνούς κυπριολογικού συνεδρίου*, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1986), II, 591–600. On the western iconography of Christ's resurrection, see *idem*, "Η δυτικού τύπου Ανάσταση του Χριστού και ο χρόνος εισαγωγής της στην Ορθόδοξη τέχνη," *Δωδώνη* 7 (1978), 385–97.



use of his skill with Italian techniques.<sup>31</sup> He differentiates the recipients of Jesus' miracles from the sacred figures not only by clothing them in the Gothicized costume of contemporary Cyprus, but also by painting them in contemporary Italian style, with fluently modeled, three-dimensional surfaces that contrast with Christ's angular modeling (Fig. 9). Media, styles, painters, and patrons all display a criss-crossing of religious and ethnic backgrounds, but all reflect an Italianate component in their taste.

For all the immense richness of this post-Byzantine material, the focus here will be on earlier examples, before 1453, when Byzantium still existed. Cyprus, after all, was not only distinct from Italy, but since 1191 had been separate from Byzantium, too. In looking at Byzantines and Italians, we must of course ask to what degree and in what ways the Italians can be distinguished from the general category of westerners on Cyprus. We might ask also to what extent Cyprus made an identifiable contribution to Italian art. In addition, however, we must ask what "Byzantine" meant on Cyprus and how that was made visible. When Peter I came to power in 1359, Byzantine travelers to Cyprus, such as Nicephoros Gregoras and St. Sabas the Young, recorded their complete sense of being at home in the Greek culture there.<sup>32</sup> Two generations later, in 1406–12, when Cyprus responded to the Battle of Adrianople by applying for recognition once again by the Orthodox patriarchate of Constantinople, its appeal was rejected by George Bryennios, who regarded Cyprus as too far from the Orthodox fold.<sup>33</sup> Byzantine in its own eyes, Cyprus was not Byzantine to the Byzantine Bryennios. Did the difference between Gregoras' and Bryennios' perceptions of Cyprus lie in the beholder or in the island itself? What was the "Byzantine" that Italians were meeting there?

In proceeding with this two-pronged approach—what is meant by Italian, what by Byzantine—we should touch on another standard argument that painting belies: the argument that the fall of Constantinople was followed by an influx into Cyprus of Constantinopolitan painters who brought with them, at last, the Palaiologan elements that had been conspicuously rare in the island's art until then.<sup>34</sup> This is certainly the pattern encountered in scribal activity,<sup>35</sup> but painting offers a less tidy picture, as illustrated by two monuments. One of these is the group of mural paintings in the narthex of the monastery of St. John Lampadistes at Kalopanagiotis. These are indeed signed by a painter from Constantinople.<sup>36</sup> He was not, however, a purveyor of up-to-date Palaiologan conventions; rather, he was a conservative and rather ordinary craftsman with little but his signature to tie him to the city. This said, however, his images do present us with very useful insight into the Italian question. Modest as he was, he was fascinated by

<sup>31</sup> Stylianou and Stylianou, *The Painted Churches*, 246–55, with the correct date of 1495; Papageorgiou, "Κύπροι ζωγράφοι," 201–4.

<sup>32</sup> A. E. Laiou, "Στό Βυζάντιο τῶν Παλαιολόγων: οἰκονομικά καί πολιτιστικά φαινόμενα," in Εὐφρόσυνον: Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μανόλη Χατζιδάκη, 2 vols. (Athens, 1991), I, 293–96.

<sup>33</sup> J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901), 142–49; G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1948), III, 1,086–88.

<sup>34</sup> M. Garidis, "La peinture chypriote de la fin du XVe-début du XVIe siècle et sa place dans les tendances générales de la peinture orthodoxe après la chute de Constantinople," in Πρακτικά του πρώτου διεθνούς κυπριολογικού συνεδρίου, 3 vols. in 4 (Nicosia, 1986), II, 25–32; Papageorgiou, "Κύπροι ζωγράφοι," 194–95, though he modifies this assessment as he proceeds.

<sup>35</sup> Constantinides, *Dated Manuscripts* (as in note 19 above).

<sup>36</sup> What survives of his signature is given in Papageorgiou, "Κύπροι ζωγράφοι," 197. See also A. Stylianou, "Sociological Reflections in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982), 526–27.

the architectural effects in one-point perspective that are among the most frequently cited signs of Italian influence in Byzantine art. There is nothing here, however, to suggest that his work was regarded on Cyprus as anything but Byzantine. Much of what we see as Italian in Cypriot art came in fact indirectly and thoroughly packaged as Byzantine, without any baggage of Italianate connotations.

The messages of Kalopanagiotis are repeated with new inflections by the paintings in our other monument, the complicated little church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri.<sup>37</sup> The dome here is painted with superb Palaiologan paintings (Fig. 10). The chorus of angels and Etimasia in the dome reflect Cypriot tradition,<sup>38</sup> but the magnificent Evangelists inspired by bare-armed muses offer the highest-quality example of an imagery seen in the decades around 1400 in two other cycles, one at Volotovo in Russia and the other at Manasija in Serbia.<sup>39</sup> Given their wide geographic diffusion, the three surely reflect Constantinopolitan art. The Cypriot example has traditionally been attributed to the years after 1453, and as the prime example of the putative influx of Palaiologan art after the fall of the city. But recent cleaning of the monument has shown that the dome and pendentives are in fact contemporary with the rest of the building's adornment, which belongs to the period before 1375. It makes this the earliest—as well as the finest—surviving example of the iconography of the inspired Evangelists. More importantly, it places it nearly a century before 1453.

The paintings to which the cleaning connected these splendid works are notable in joining to them two other, very different hands. There is a more conventionally Palaiologan hand responsible for feast scenes in both the bema and the north aisle, where a Latin couple kneels before the scene of the Doubting Thomas (Fig. 11). They are accompanied by the crest of King Peter's brother, Jean de Lusignan, murdered in 1375. Whether the man portrayed is John himself, or their brother Thomas as the scene might suggest,<sup>40</sup> the use of John's crest both dates the murals and links the Frankish couple with participation in—though not full patronage of—the cycle.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Stylianou and Stylianou, *The Painted Churches*, 223–32; *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities for the Year 1990* (Nicosia, 1991), 27.

<sup>38</sup> On the iconography of domes in Cypriot mural painting, see A. W. Carr, *A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered: The Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus* (Austin, Tex., 1991), 47–54 with bibliography.

<sup>39</sup> M. V. Alpatov, *Frescoes of the Church of the Assumption at Volotovo Polye* (Moscow, 1977), 25 and pls. 85–87; S. Tomić and R. Nikolić, *Manasija*, Communications of the Institute for the Protection of Historic Monuments of the People's Republic of Serbia 6 (Belgrade, 1964), 44 and pls. 114–17. Interesting in this context are the pendentives of 1341–48 of the dome in the narthex at St. Michael, Lesnovo, where four Fathers of the Church are inspired by female figures as they sit by the river of life: T. Velmans, "L'iconographie de la 'Fontaine de Vie' dans la tradition byzantine à la fin du Moyen-âge," in *Synthronon*, Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques 2 (Paris, 1968), 122. This program must adapt the motif of the muses, using it to parallel the Fathers with the Evangelists. Thus it indicates that the program seen at Pelendri was in use by 1340. See also H. Hunger, "Evangelisten," in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. M. Restle and K. Wessel (Stuttgart, 1971), II, 491, who cites the striding angel behind Mark in the 15th-century paintings of the Virgin's Church at Peć (V. R. Petković, *La peinture serbe du moyen-âge*, 2 vols. [Belgrade, 1934], pl. CVI).

<sup>40</sup> John de Lusignan and King Peter did have a brother named Thomas, but little is known of him, and Rudt de Collenberg concludes that he had died in childhood: W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Paris, 1963), chart VII c.

<sup>41</sup> The north aisle of the church, in which the crest and portraits appear, is an addition to the church presumably made in the 14th century. Because of the presence of the portraits and a painting of the Tree of Jesse on its western wall, this aisle is often called a Latin chapel. This assumption should be treated with care. The securely attested Latin chapels are later than the 14th century (A. Jakovljević and C. Kyrris, *Moví*

The third hand that coincides with that of the Evangelists is responsible for the cycle of the life of the Virgin in the naos (Fig. 12). These paintings, which include votive portraits of Orthodox people, are not Palaiologan at all, and instead are conventionally called Italianate. This designation is defended by reference to the unusual and engaging motif of the visible babies in the scene of the Visitation (Fig. 13). The visible babies do occur in Western (though not, in fact, in Italian) art,<sup>42</sup> but they are seen closer at hand in art of the Middle East. Two Armenian manuscripts of the 1270s—the Prince Vasak Gospels (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, cod. 2568) and Erevan, Matenadaran, M 979—exhibit them too.<sup>43</sup> It is, in fact, far more to Armenian than to Italian art that the cycle points. The bond is exhibited not only in this iconographic motif but also in the style, whose rich colors, heavily highlighted drapery, exuberant architecture, and lavish play of ornamental borders and surfaces are paralleled in the work of the Armenian bookman Sargis Pidzak, active until 1354.<sup>44</sup> The dynasties of Armenia and Cyprus were densely interwoven: Peter I actually died as king of Armenia;<sup>45</sup> a cluster of Armenian

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Αρχαγγέλου, Μετόχι της Ιεράς Μονής Κυκκου [Nicosia, 1990], 2–3; A. K. Sarou, “Περὶ μεικτῶν ναῶν ὀρθοδόξων καὶ καθολικῶν ἐν χίῳ,” Ἐπ. Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ. 19 [1949], 195–208; so far as I know, no aspect of liturgical arrangement has been cited that identifies spaces as Latin chapels; the Orthodox cathedral at Famagusta and the renovations to the Chryseleousa church at Lyso (see below) show the fallacy of assuming—as is often done—that Gothic architectural details indicate Latin usage; and the Tree of Jesse, though assuredly inspired by Latin example—probably that at Bethlehem—is found in Orthodox mural paintings on Cyprus at a similar date, as in the lunette of the south arm of St. Herakleidios in the monastery of St. John Lampadistes, Kalopanagiotis. The chief 14th-century example of what is usually cited as a Latin chapel is that at the Panagia Angeloktistos, Kiti. It owes its identification as a Latin chapel to the presence of a tomb slab with the Giblest name on it. North aisles were used as funerary chapels in churches in Syria and Palestine (S. Y. Otüken, “Zweischiffige Kirchen in Kappadokien und in den angrenzenden Gebieten,” *JÖB* 32.4 [1982], 545–46). George Jeffrey speaks of the Frankish custom of adding mortuary chapels to existing churches on Cyprus (*A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* [Nicosia, 1918], 186), and it is to this function that I am inclined to assign the added north aisles at both Kiti and Pelendri. Certainly the remodeling and decoration of Pelendri’s church coincides with the years of the Black Death, whose toll on Cyprus can be surmised from the concentration of grave monuments from the third quarter of the 14th century in Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossiensis* (as in note 15 above). Barbara Zeitler, who also queries the identification of these spaces at Kiti and Pelendri as Latin chapels, suggests that they were seigneurial chapels (“Perceptions of the Orient: Studies in the Arts of the Latin East” [Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1992], 238).

<sup>42</sup>See most recently B. Cassidy, “A Relic, Some Pictures and the Mothers of Florence in the Late Fourteenth Century,” *Gesta* 30.2 (1991), 91 and fig. 2 (Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, inv. U.H. 1, fol. 176v). An inventory of known examples in Western art is given in E. Verheyen, “An Iconographic Note on Altdörfer’s ‘Visitation’ in the Cleveland Museum of Art,” *ArtB* 46 (1964), 536–37 n. 3.

<sup>43</sup>S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, DOS 31 (Washington, D.C., 1993), 112 and fig. 444 (Jerusalem, Arm. Pat., cod. 2568, fol. 155). The motif recurs on a 16th-century Cypriot icon at Koukla on Cyprus: see S. Sophocleous, “Le patrimoine des icones dans le diocèse de Limassol, Chypre, 12e–16e siècle,” 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg, 1990), 219 and pls. 109–111. This joins the motif of Judas leaving the Communion of the Apostles in the apse at the Panagia Podithou as an apparently conscious return in the 16th century to motifs rooted in Cyprus’ past.

<sup>44</sup>Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 139–61; idem, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1958), xxviii–xxix, 35–38, 181–48, and pls. 19–23; idem, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles de la bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitaristes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1936), 137–66. For a color reproduction of his work, see *Gli Armeni in Italia*, ed. B. L. Zekiyan, exhib. cat., Isola di San Lazzaro (Venice, 1990), pl. 88 (Venice, San Lazzaro, Biblioteca 16/97).

<sup>45</sup>Rudt de Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, chart VII c.



manuscripts was illuminated on Cyprus;<sup>46</sup> and there is every reason to believe that the twin kingdoms shared artistic manners. If the dome paintings at Pelendri reinforce our argument against a sudden Palaiologan influx after 1453, then, the bright and bouncy paintings of the naos offer yet another instance of the way in which Western elements in Cypriot painting can be viewed as arriving only indirectly, as part of what was surely regarded as local tradition.

The paintings at Pelendri open two avenues of inquiry. One is at this point really only a caveat. It is unwise to look upon the purity of the dome painter's Palaiologan art as a signature of elite or courtly patronage on Cyprus. It is not at all clear that the painter of the dome was summoned by the Lusignans, for their portraits are painted only by the second hand; moreover, the little "Royal Chapel" of 1421 at Pyrga, very clearly patronized by or for King Janus and his wife Charlotte, who are portrayed in it, exhibits a rather less classy Byzantine style.<sup>47</sup> Pyrga is striking for its union of Byzantine and Latin: Greek images have Latin labels; almost uniquely among surviving Cypriot cycles, Latin saints appear among the Greek ones; and Latin patrons even intrude into the sacred spaces of distinctly Byzantine compositions—Charlotte and Janus kneel at the base of the cross in the Crucifixion, and a Latin archbishop bends over the stone of unction in the *threnos* and the Virgin's bier in the Koimesis (Figs. 14, 15). This intrusion of patrons into scenes looks very Latin,<sup>48</sup> though it may reflect Byzantine innovations of that time: the Lusignan portrait in the scene of the Doubting Thomas at Pelendri is just contemporary with, and Pyrga a little later than, the remarkable icon of the Doubting Thomas from 1367–84 in Ioannina that includes the portraits of Anna Palaiologina and Thomas Preljubović.<sup>49</sup> If the inclusion of donors coincides, at least, with innovations in Byzantine art,<sup>50</sup> the style at Pyrga is no more than a generic Palaiologan one. It suggests that on

<sup>46</sup>Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 134–39; H. Buschhausen and H. Buschhausen, "Die Handschrift Matenadaran Mesrop Maštoc N.9450 zu Yerevan," in *BYZANTIOS: Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Hörandner et al. (Vienna, 1984), 27–36; S. Agémian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés dans les collections de Roumanie* (Bucharest, 1982), 19–20, and idem, "Deux manuscrits ciliciens du XIVe siècle dans les Archives de l'Etat de Cluj-Napoca," *RESEE* 18 (1980), 239–51 on Cluj-Napoca, Archives de l'Etat, cod. 15 (Recueil de Famagouste) of 1310–12.

<sup>47</sup>Stylianou and Stylianou, *The Painted Churches*, 428–32; A. Papageorgiou, "L'art byzantin de Chypre et l'art des Croisés: influences réciproques," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1982), 221 and pls. XLIX 4, L 1–4.

<sup>48</sup>On the inclusion of donors in Latin paintings, see most recently C. Schleif, "Hands That Appoint, Anoint and Ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation through Painting," *Art History* 16 (1993), 1–32, esp. 3–9 on Charles IV of Bohemia in 1355 at Karlstejn near Prague.

<sup>49</sup>M. Chatzidakis and D. Sophianos, *To Μεγάλο Μετέωρο: Ιστορία και Τέχνη/The Great Meteoron: History and Art* (Athens, 1990), 30 and pl. p. 53. A. Xyngopoulos, "Νέαι προσωπογραφίες της Μαρίας Παλαιολογίνας και του θωμά Πρελιούμποβιτς," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Αρχ.* Et. 4.4 (1964–65), 53–70. The portrait of Maria is clear; it is Xyngopoulos who suggests that Thomas is portrayed behind her, gazing from the painting with a fierce expression as Christ reaches to pull him into the circle of his followers. Notably, the Armenian Sargis Pidzak, cited above, introduced his patron, Queen Mariun, in two of the Gospel scenes he painted in the Queen Mariun Gospels (Jerusalem, Library of the Armenian Patriarchate, 1973) in 1346: Der Nersessian, *Manuscript Painting*, 146, 160. Queen Mariun's inclusion is as exceptional in Armenian art as that of Maria Palaiologina is in Byzantine art.

<sup>50</sup>The portraits in the icon remain exceptional, if not in fact unique in Byzantine art, and come from a community much in contact with the West. Nonetheless, they are not readily paralleled in Western art and seem best explained by developments in Byzantium itself, personalizing icons by the addition of portraits in

Cyprus there were not styles more and less Byzantine, with more or less eloquent associations with the empire, but simply a living tradition with all the variety of life.

Returning to Pelendri once again, the other avenue opened by its murals leads us once again to Italy. Its motif of the visible babies joins a cluster of Western iconographic motifs that appears in both Cyprus and Cilicia: the motif of the backward-fainting Virgin at the Crucifixion, seen in 1265 in Nicola Pisano's Siena pulpit, in the second half of the thirteenth century at Kalopanagiotis, and in 1272 in the Sicilian Gospels of Queen Keran; and the motif of the "Schutzmantel Maria," seen in Duccio's Madonna of the Franciscans from before 1285, in two paintings of the later thirteenth century on Cyprus—the panel of the Virgin and Carmelites from St. Cassianos and the votive mural in the narthex at Asinou on Cyprus with donors in Western garments—and in the 1270s in the Armenian Gospel of Prince Vasak.<sup>51</sup> On Cyprus these motifs appear in works sponsored by westerners, as in the icon from St. Cassianos and in Asinou, but equally in works sponsored by Orthodox patrons, as in the Crucifixion at Kalopanagiotis and at Pelendri. Thus they can be said to have entered into the local bloodstream.

With the exception of the visible babies, the motifs assembled here are found in Italian art. In contrast to the Italianate elements observed in the post-Byzantine works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the motifs in this cluster point not to Venice but to Tuscany. It is in fact not with Venice but with Tuscany that the richest links on Cyprus occur in the two centuries before 1453. This is true iconographically, and it is also true stylistically, as indicated by a remarkable fresco icon of the thirteenth century in the Chryseleousa Church in the little village of Lyso in the far west of Cyprus near Polis (Fig. 20).<sup>52</sup> In iconography, the Lyso icon replicates what may already at this time have been the great miraculous icon at the Kykko monastery known as the Kykkotissa. In function it is clearly a devotional image; though painted in fresco, it fills what once had been the eastern window of the apse, gazing from the deep embrasure as if from a niche. The painting at Lyso is notable on a number of counts.

First, its church is interesting (Fig. 16). Usually assigned to the fifteenth century on the basis of two late medieval crests over the south entrance to the narthex, it is more likely a twelfth-century building that was renovated at least once and probably twice in Gothic style. It has the same cruciform plan with octagonal crossing drum as the church

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frames or panels: see N. P. son Ševčenko, "The Representations of Donors and Holy Figures on Four Byzantine Icons," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.* Et. 4.17 (1993–94), 157–64. I am grateful to Dr. Ševčenko for letting me read this article in draft.

<sup>51</sup>This cluster of motifs was assembled by Anne Derbes ("Siena and the Levant in the Later Dugento," *Gesta* 28.2 [1989], 190–204). It is generally assumed that they are of Western origin. I am not sure that this is the case with all of them: the motif of the visible babies has at least partial precedent in the 13th-century Serbian Gospel book, Belgrade, Narodna Biblioteka 297 III, fol. 59r (A. Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique* [Paris, 1928], 58, 73 and pl. vi 3); and the asymmetrical composition of the "Schutzmantel Maria" is seen more often in the Near East than in Italy. On the identification of the monks as Carmelites rather than Dominicans, see Zeitler, "Perceptions of the Orient," 206, 221–22.

<sup>52</sup>S. Sophocleous, "Η Εικόνα της Κυκκωτίσσης στον Άγιο Θεόδωρο του Άγρου," *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* 2 (1993), 329–37 and pl. 13. I owe Dr. Sophocleous many thanks for introducing me to this painting. On the village of Lyso itself, see *Μεγάλη κυπριακή εγκυκλοπαίδεια* (Nicosia, 1988), IX, 234–35 s.v. Λυσός; J. C. Goodwin, *An Historical Toponymy of Cyprus*, 4th ed. (Nicosia, 1984), 995–96; R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1936), 331–32; Jeffrey, *A Description*, 410.

of Sts. Kyrkos and Ioulitta at Letympou not far away.<sup>53</sup> Sts. Kyrkos and Ioulitta, too, was assigned to the fifteenth century until recently, when the exposure of a twelfth-century layer of wall painting made it clear that the building was earlier; Vassos Karageorghis now dates it to the twelfth century.<sup>54</sup> The church at Lyso invites the same reconsideration. While the heraldic crests and deeply profiled foliage on the narthex (Fig. 19) do, indeed, demand a late medieval attribution, the Gothic details of the body of the church look considerably earlier. Mullions trace a rose and two lancet of thirteenth-century profile over masonry infill that closes what originally was the eastern window of the apse. Rather formless crocket capitals, in turn, have been introduced into the two naos windows (Figs. 17, 18). These assemble elements seen on the thirteenth-century southeast door of Hagia Sophia, Nicosia.<sup>55</sup> Together, mullions and capitals suggest a thirteenth-century modification to the fabric of an existing church, a church that may in foundation have been close in date to Sts. Kyrkos and Ioulitta nearby. The narthex, then, would represent a second, later modification of the fifteenth century.

Much the same complex chronology is suggested by the fresco icon of the Virgin itself. The foliage above the image, with its red and blue leaves splashed against a white ground, resembles closely the ornament in the fifteenth-century layer of frescoes at Sts. Kyrkos and Ioulitta. A seam near the base of the icon distinguishes the ornamental surround from the icon itself, indicating the icon's priority.<sup>56</sup> The icon, in turn, is painted against the masonry infill that closes the original eastern window of the apse. Like the Gothic ornament, then, the icon seems to indicate two phases of attention to the church: a thirteenth-century phase, when the apse window was closed and the windows of the body of the church were given Gothic adornment, and a fifteenth-century phase, when the narthex was added or amended and the frame of the icon was embellished. Church and icon, then, would have been refurbished together. As such, they illustrate the ambiguity of art as a diagnostic of donors' creed, as venerators of the Orthodox icon in this instance renovated its shrine in Latin style. The renovations to the narthex include a pair of heraldic crests: one of these clearly belongs to the Gourri family, while the other has been associated with the Nevilles.<sup>57</sup> Both are Syrian families that appear in very high court circles; the Gourri were white Genoese and presumably Orthodox.<sup>58</sup> In this case,

<sup>53</sup>A. Papageorgiou, *Μεγάλη κυπριακή εγκυκλοπαίδεια* (Nicosia, 1987), VII, 77–78 s.v. *Κηρύκου και Ιουλίττης Αγίων Εκκλησία Λετύμπου*.

<sup>54</sup>Karageorghis, *The A. G. Leventis Foundation* (as in note 14 above), 33. The 12th-century layer of paintings is visible above all in the figure of Christ on the northwest pier of the naos. The figure is flanked by an image of the Virgin of the Kykkotissa type on the southwest pier: Sophocleous, "Η εικόνα της Κυκκοτίσσης," fig. 9. The Virgin, however, belongs to the surrounding layer of 15th-century paintings.

<sup>55</sup>See in the south door the crockets and the foliage with a strongly recurved form: Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance* (as in note 4 above), 104 and fig. 49 on p. 109 (I, 114 and fig. 47 on p. 115 in the original French edition). The foliage in the narthex on the other hand is reminiscent of that at St. Catherine, Nicosia (ibid., 183, fig. 126; I, 218, fig. 122 in the French), and the Yeni Camii (ibid., 150–52, fig. 89; I, 168–70, fig. 82 in the French).

<sup>56</sup>I thank Natalia Teteriatnikov for pointing this out to me.

<sup>57</sup>Jeffrey, *A Description*, 410.

<sup>58</sup>D. Jacoby, "Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XIIIe au XVe siècle," *ByzF* 5 (1977), 168–69.

then, we clearly have an Orthodox patron renovating a building in Gothic style. This is certainly one of the things that makes Lyso interesting.

Second, in view of the Syrian origin of, at least, the late patrons, the locality of the icon is notable. It is painted into the walled-up window niche at the center of the apse wall. This placement is exceptional for a devotional icon, but it corresponds very clearly with the following description:

Also at Damascus three miles distant is a place situated in the mountains that is called Saidnaya and is inhabited by Christians, and there is a church there in the country and dedicated to the glorious Virgin . . . In this church I saw a wooden panel . . . behind the altar in the wall of the sanctuary placed in the window . . . the effigy of the blessed Virgin had been painted on this panel . . . <sup>59</sup>

This is a description from the twelfth century of the famous Saidnaya icon near Damascus. It appears that the placement of the Lyso icon was intended to recall that famous miracle-working Virgin from the homeland of the Gourri clan. An Orthodox family, then, rebuilds in Gothic style a shrine whose Cypriot icon is painted in an installation recalling a Syrian one.

In style, finally, the icon has the sultry gaze that we link with Italianate panels. Generically, it belongs to a mid-thirteenth-century phase of style that is reflected all over the Mediterranean: in Cyprus in variants seen in the Dexiokratousa from Asinou as well as the Lyso Virgin;<sup>60</sup> in panels of Adriatic origin, both Venetian and Dalmatian;<sup>61</sup> in "Crusader art" from both Constantinople and the Levant;<sup>62</sup> and in Tuscany. Among these many variants, the appearance of a particularly similar type in both Venice and the crusader Levant led Hans Belting to propose significant artistic exchanges between these

<sup>59</sup>Quoted by P. Peeters, "La Legende de Saidnaya," *AnalBoll* 25 (1906), 138: "Item a Damasco ad tria miliaria est locus quidem in montibus situs, qui Saidaneia vocatur et a christianis inhabitatur, et ibi est ecclesia in rure sita et in honore gloriose Virginis dedicata, in qua moniales virgines duodecim et monachi octo assidue Deo serviunt et beate Virgini. In qua ecclesia vidi tabulam ligneam ad mensuram unius ulne longam et latam ad modum dimidie ulnae, retro altare in muro sanctuarii in fenestra positam, et ferro laqueariter cancellatim firmatam. In qua tabula effigies beate Virginis aliquando depicta fuit . . ." Perhaps notable in this conjunction is the placement of the 10th-century fresco icon of Mary caressing the Child at New Tokali Kilise in Cappadocia in a niche in the apse wall, albeit not in a central niche: see A. W. Epstein, *Tokali Kilise: Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia*, DOS 22 (Washington, D.C., 1986), 78 and pls. 118–19.

<sup>60</sup>Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες της Κύπρου* (as in note 1 above), pl. 35.

<sup>61</sup>Among Adriatic variants of this manner, one can be represented by the Galaktotrophousa framed by saints in the Museo Marciano in Venice (*Venezia e Bisanzio*, exhib. cat., Palazzo Ducale [Venice, 1974], no. 66), echoed in a number of Venetian and Dalmatian panels, including one in the Accademia in Venice (*ibid.*, no. 76), and the enthroned Virgin and Child with donor in the Convento di Santa Maria Minore in Zara and the panels associated with it by V. Lazareff, "Saggi sulla pittura veneziana dei secoli XIII–XIV: la maniera greca e il problema della Scuola cretese," *ArtV* 19 (1965), figs. 21–23. Another variant can be represented by the superb Virgin and Child in the Pushkin Museum (*ibid.*, fig. 27), whose round eyes, plump nose, and full lips link it with the painterly manner seen in the famous glass paintings from Venice: see the fine color plates of those in the monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos in S. M. Pelekanides et al., *Οἱ ἑθναυτοὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, Σειρά Α': Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα, Γ': Μ. Μεγίστης Λαύρας, Μ. Παντοκράτορος, Μ. Δοχειαρίου, Μ. Ἁγίου Παύλου (Athens, 1979), figs. 305–19.

<sup>62</sup>Weitzmann, "Icon Painting" (as in note 2 above), outlines a number of groups based on stylistic variants; see in particular his "Venetian" group, and his "French" group, discussed in R. Cormack and St. Michalaris, "A Crusader Painting of St. George: 'Maniera greca' or 'Lingua franca'?" *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984), 132–41.

two areas.<sup>63</sup> The richly painterly manner that he singled out is not seen in surviving panels on Cyprus.<sup>64</sup> Instead, we have the imposing Lyso Virgin. It, too, finds Italian *comparanda*. Rather than in Venice, however, these are in Tuscany: of all surviving panels, it is the enthroned Madonna in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow that most seems to resemble the Lyso icon (Fig. 21).<sup>65</sup> The Pushkin panel is generally given a Pisan provenance. While this Tuscan attribution is not incontrovertible, it is true that Tuscan paintings—the Sienese San Bernardino Madonna of 1262, for example<sup>66</sup>—parallel the Lyso icon more strongly (or, more clearly) than the Adriatic works, largely because of their strong plasticity, as seen in the firm, three-dimensional density of their flesh and facial features.<sup>67</sup>

The Lyso painter's place of origin is enigmatic. There is no particular reason to exclude the possibility that an Italian influenced or even painted an icon of the Kykkotissa. The posture of the Kykko Virgin was well known in Italy by the end of the thirteenth century, and the Kykko icon itself had quite as many Latin benefactors as it did Orthodox ones; the reign of Peter I in particular, moreover, is peppered with events surrounding miraculous icons that involve not only the native Orthodox populace, but also the Latins of Peter's court.<sup>68</sup> Artistically, in turn, the Italian tradition of the painted altarpiece was well established in Cypriot chapels by the fourteenth century: Peter I, himself, sponsored the chapel tantalizingly known as the Vierge de Misericordieuse after the altar painting it contained, and the property of Pierre Domandi, auctioned in 1363, included six *tabulas ymaginum pro altare*.<sup>69</sup> Neither the religious nor the artistic context forbids our imagining an Italian painter. By comparison with Tuscan paintings, nonetheless, the Lyso Virgin's

<sup>63</sup> Belting, "Introduction" (as in note 2 above); see also O. Demus, "Zum Werk eines venezianischen Malers auf dem Sinai," in *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. I. Hutter, SBWien, 432. Band (1984), 131–42.

<sup>64</sup> It does appear in the figures painted in the borders of the famous diptych showing the Virgin with a red veil and St. Prokopios at Sinai. Mouriki has associated this diptych with Cyprus: the red veil recalls the veil of the Kykkotissa, and St. Prokopios is commemorated on Cyprus in the chapel outside Nicosia that now serves the *metochion* of Kykko: D. Mouriki in *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. K. A. Manafis (Athens, 1990), 119 and pl. 65. The icon was surely made for Mount Sinai, however, and until firmer evidence emerges, I am reluctant to call this in any sense a Cypriot manner.

<sup>65</sup> V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 325 and fig. 448; E. Carli, *Pittura medievale pisana* (Milan, n.d.), pl. 85.

<sup>66</sup> P. Torriti, *La Pinacoteca nazionale di Siena: I dipinti* (Genoa, 1990), 11 and pl. 4; H. Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990), pl. ix.

<sup>67</sup> Both Lazarev and Carli align the Pushkin panel with Pisan *comparanda* (see note 65 above). Pisa has been a catch-all for paintings of Byzantine character, however, and its inventory of attributions deserves review, as Maria Andaloro has already done in carving a cluster of Sicilian panels out of the group that Garrison had linked with Pisa. (See note 83 below.)

<sup>68</sup> I am currently preparing a book on the Kykkotissa's history in which I will discuss these events. Most are recorded in Makhairas' chronicle, *Recital* (as in note 24 above). Kykko itself was rebuilt after a fire in 1365 by Peter's queen, Eleanor of Aragon, and was substantially endowed in 1422 by a later queen of Cyprus, Eloise of Brunswick, daughter of a Frankish family long established on the island.

<sup>69</sup> On the Vierge de Misericordieuse, see Hackett, *History of the Orthodox Church* (as in note 33 above), 501; on Pierre Domandi, see J. Richard, "Les comptes du collecteur de la chambre apostolique dans le royaume de Chypre (1357–1363)," *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου ἑπιστημονικῶν ἑρευνῶν Κύπρου* 13–16 (1983–87), 21 (four panels) and 24 (two *tabulas altaris depinctas* and one further small panel) (reprinted in idem, *Croisades et états latins d'Orient* [London, 1992], art. xv).

softly modeled features, slender nose, and quiet brow look very Byzantine, and an anticipation of the figure's deft plasticity can be recognized readily in such paintings of the early thirteenth century in Cyprus as the archangels in the apse of the church of Christ Antiphonites at Kalogrea (Fig. 22).<sup>70</sup> Thus the Lyso icon is most probably Cypriot.<sup>71</sup> But this is less important for the present purposes than the fact of its kinship with Tuscan painting, reinforcing the evidence of the iconographic motifs.

The prominence of Tuscan associations is not quite so innocent as our post-Vasarian view of the matter might suggest. Characteristically we link Italian artistic diffusion with commercial activity—the more merchants, the more artistic exchanges.<sup>72</sup> Tuscans, however, never constituted a majority of Latin merchants on Cyprus, and those who were on Cyprus—above all, the Pisans—traded very little with Tuscany.<sup>73</sup> Thus the pattern of artistic exchange slips out of congruence with that of commercial exchange. Helen Evans and Anne Derbes have pointed fruitfully to the role of the Mendicant orders in the dissemination of imagery, and it is probably rather more to ecclesiastical than to commercial exchange that artistic diffusion is due at this point.<sup>74</sup> Derbes is surely right that the Mendicants contributed to the community of imagery that connects Tuscany, Cyprus, and Armenia. And in Cyprus itself the recurrence of Pisans among the higher clergy of the Latin church may be equally significant. At just the time that the San Bernardino and probably the Lyso Virgins were produced, the Latin archbishop of Cyprus, the Pisan Hugh of Fagiano, was shuttling back and forth in a fury from Cyprus to Tuscany, eventu-

<sup>70</sup>Destroyed by pirates attempting to remove them from the wall at some time after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, the angels are best reproduced on a UNESCO Christmas card of 1991. For a black-and-white reproduction, see Stylianou and Stylianou, *The Painted Churches* (as in note 1 above), pl. 283.

<sup>71</sup>The Lyso icon draws attention to Jaroslav Folda's Cypriot attribution of the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., which he made in "The Kahn and Mellon Madonnas: Icon or Altarpiece?" (Lecture presented at the University of Texas at Tyler, May 1988). The sweetly bowed lips and curving nose of the Kahn Madonna look very much like those of the Virgin in the Deesis in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, and make it impossible for me to view the work as anything but Constantinopolitan. The Lyso icon surely does, however, endorse Folda's significant insight that Cyprus, no less than Constantinople and Tuscany, belongs to the eligible localities to which magnificent hybrids such as the Pushkin Museum's Madonna might be attributed. On the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas, see H. Belting, "The 'Byzantine' Madonnas: New Facts about Their Italian Origin and Some Observations on Duccio," *Studies in the History of Art* 12 (1982), 7–22.

<sup>72</sup>For a glimpse behind the veil of this much-used mystique, showing just how merchants might in fact be linked with artistic transmission, see A. E. Laiou, "Venice as a Center of Trade and of Artistic Production in the Thirteenth Century," in *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente dell'arte del XIII secolo*, Atti del XXIV Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte, ed. H. Belting, II (Bologna, 1979), 14–19.

<sup>73</sup>For the years 1292–1310, the names of some 160 Pisans on Cyprus are known; in these years the acts of Lamberto di Sambuceto show Pisans as second only to the Genoese in Famagusta, numbering 135 as against Venice's 128; both the Bardi and Peruzzi banking houses of Florence had representatives in Famagusta at the same time. This was, however, the high-water mark for Tuscans: the remainder of the 14th century yields only 50 names in all: see C. Otten-Froux, "Les Pisans en Chypre au Moyen-âge," in *Πρακτικά του δευτέρου διεθνούς κυπριολογικού συνεδρίου*, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1986), II, 130; M. Balard, "Génois et Pisans en Orient (fin du XIIIe-début du XIVe siècle)," in *Genova, Pisa e il Mediterraneo tra Due e Trecento* (Genoa, 1984), 192–93. On the destinations of Tuscans trading from Cyprus, see Otten-Froux, "Les Pisans en Chypre," 140–42. Lamberto di Sambuceto lists not a single voyage destined for Pisa; rather, Pisans on Cyprus trafficked mainly with Cilicia and Venice and the Adriatic coast.

<sup>74</sup>H. C. Evans, "Manuscript Illumination at the Armenian Patriarchate in Hromkla and the West" (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1990); Derbes, "Siena and the Levant" (as in note 51 above).

ally settling in 1263 in a monastery in the Calci valley near Cascina, which he named Nicosia.<sup>75</sup>

This slippage between art and commerce is stronger still in the case of the area in Italy whose connections with Cyprus have been most vigorously debated—that is, south Italy. Many Byzantine paintings in south Italy have a haunting visual kinship with thirteenth-century paintings on Cyprus. No satisfactory explanation of the kinship between Cypriot and south Italian art has been offered. Kurt Weitzmann saw it tentatively in terms of influence flowing from Italy—exemplified by the paintings in Gravina—to Cyprus, as exemplified by Moutoullas of 1280.<sup>76</sup> Yet the art of Moutoullas has been analyzed more persuasively recently as reflecting not Italian but Syrian influence.<sup>77</sup> As such, the idea of an artistic tide washing over Cyprus from Italy has become less plausible. Valentino Pace, in turn, has seen the exchange with Italy flowing in the opposite direction, with Cypriots—as in the great *vita* icon of St. Nicholas at Kakopetria on Cyprus—shaping the art of south Italy, as represented by an icon of St. Nicholas, which is now in Bari.<sup>78</sup> He has reinforced his argument by pointing to the recurrent use in south Italy of the iconography of the Kykko Virgin. Yet the relationship between the icons is at most generic, not specific. The St. Nicholas icon in Bari cannot be linked by any specific devices of either technique or form with the Kakopetria icon; moreover, the St. Nicholas icon is a quarter the size of that of Kakopetria. Rather than in south Italy, it is in Tuscany that one can parallel the quantum leap in panel size in the late thirteenth century that is seen in the two-meter-high icon at Kakopetria. It is, accordingly, no easier to explain the kinships between the two areas by proposing a tide of artistic influence flowing from Cyprus than it had been to explain it by an Italian tide flowing to Cyprus.

Given these ambiguities in stylistic kinship, the burden of proof seems to lie with the Kykkotissa. If the south Italian examples do reflect the cult of the Kykko icon specifically, then a link with Cyprus would be clear. The recurrent appearance in Italy of the distinctive posture that we associate with the Kykkotissa is impressive.<sup>79</sup> Though the Kykkotissa became one of the widest-spread and most potent Orthodox icons in the course of the

<sup>75</sup>Otten-Froux, “Les Pisans en Chypre,” 134, who points out that another Pisan, John de Polo, became archbishop in 1312; Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (as in note 33 above), III, 1062.

<sup>76</sup>Weitzmann, “Icon Painting” (as in note 2 above), 73–74 and pls. 41, 42, 43, 45.

<sup>77</sup>Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings” (as in note 2 above), *passim*.

<sup>78</sup>V. Pace, “Presenze e influenze cipriote nella pittura duecentesca italiana,” *CorsiRav* 32 (1985), 259–98; idem, “Icône di Puglia, della Terra Santa e di Cipro: Appunti preliminari per un’indagine sulla ricezione bizantina nell’Italia meridionale duecentesca,” in *Il Medio Oriente e l’Occidente dell’arte del XIII secolo*, Atti del XXIV Congresso di storia dell’arte, ed. H. Belting, II (Bologna, 1979), 181–91. On the icon in Kakopetria, see Papageorghiou, *Εικόνες της Κύπρου* (as in note 1 above), pls. 32a, 32b; on the icon in Bari, see P. Belli d’Elia, *Icône di Puglia e Basilicata dal Medioevo al Settecento*, exhib. cat., Pinacoteca provinciale (Bari, 1988), no. 25, pp. 122–23 and color plate. It measures 130 × 83 cm, as against the 203 × 158 cm of the Kakopetria icon.

<sup>79</sup>P. Santa Maria Mannino, “Vergine ‘Kykkotissa’ in due icone laziali del Duecento,” in *Roma Anno 1300*, Atti del Congresso internazionale di storia dell’arte medievale (Rome, 1983), 487–92, offers five examples: the Bitonto Virgin in the Pinacoteca provinciale in Bari (formerly in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome); the Madonna del Isola, now in a private collection in Naples; the Madonna dell’Orto from San Martino, Velletri; a copy of the Madonna dell’Orto in the Museo Civico in Viterbo; and the Madonna della Vittoria in San Pietro in Piazza Armerina, Sicily. Excellent entries on the Bitonto Virgin and on the Madonna del Isola, which, I believe, copies not a common model but the Bitonto Virgin itself, are given in Belli d’Elia, *Icône di Puglia*, nos. 30 and 31. See also, E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index* (Florence, 1949), 61, no. 103; 63, no. 113; 66, no. 129; 67, no. 133.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, she is not well known in the Middle Ages, and after the occurrence of her posture in the famous Sinai icon of the Virgin and Prophets from the twelfth century,<sup>80</sup> this pose is seen only on Cyprus and in south Italy; it is, in fact, in south Italy, at Massafra, that one actually sees the pose used within the scene of the Presentation from which Rebecca Corrie postulated its abstraction: the kicking Child grasps his mother's veil while turning from her to confront Symeon.<sup>81</sup> As on Cyprus, so in south Italy the panels exhibiting this pose have tended to become cult objects. That they are in fact Italian in origin seems assured. The most dramatic is the Madonna della Vittoria at Piazza Armerina in Sicily, whose legend goes back to 1059.<sup>82</sup> In particular, a comparison of the contour of her eyes with the Virgin over the west portal at Monreale indicates that she belongs to the "appendix" of thirteenth-century panel paintings that Maria Andaloro attributes to Sicily in the wake of the Monreale mosaics.<sup>83</sup>

More eloquent artistically is the rather ugly but extremely impressive Virgin from Bitonto, which is now in Bari.<sup>84</sup> It is attributed to the hand that painted a famous *vita* icon of St. Dominic in Naples and reflects precisely its Neapolitan blend of manners, a Cavallini-like three-dimensionality swelling, like rising dough, from the confines of the medieval composition.<sup>85</sup> The pretty Madonna dell'Orto may be Roman.<sup>86</sup> These Italian icons all gather in the period around 1300, and all play with easy familiarity upon the complex pose. They outnumber surviving Cypriot examples of the pose from the same period. Indeed, were it not for the icon on Mount Sinai, one would be tempted to conclude that the Cypriot tradition developed from an Italian root;<sup>87</sup> instead, the Sinai icon shows that the image must have radiated from Byzantium. It is by no means clear, however, that the south Italian examples therefore derive from Cyprus. They lack the red veil with its golden grid of embroidery that one sees on Cyprus.

<sup>80</sup>Manafis, *Sinai* (as in note 64 above), 105 and pl. 19.

<sup>81</sup>M. Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura monumentale bizantina in Puglia* (Milan, 1991), 152–53 and pl. 129; C. D. Fonseca, "La civiltà rupestre in Puglia," in *La Puglia tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan, 1980), fig. 125 in color; R. Corrie, "Coppo di Marcovaldo and the Meaning of the Child in the Virgin Kykkotissa" (Paper read at the University of Nottingham, 1988). I am very grateful to Dr. Corrie for giving me a typescript of this paper.

<sup>82</sup>Santa Maria Mannini, "Vergine 'Kykkotissa,'" 488 and fig. 5. For a splendid color reproduction of the icon in its golden cover, see M. Accascina, *Oreficeria di Sicilia dal XII al XIX secolo* (Palermo, 1974), pl. 161. For its legend, see *Sicilia: Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano* (Milan, 1953), 597–98.

<sup>83</sup>M. Andaloro, "Nel cerchio della luce: I mosaici da simulacro a modello," in *L'Anno di Guglielmo*, ed. G. B. Badagliacca (Palermo, 1989), 106 and pl. p. 109. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, 61, no. 103, associates the panel with Pisa. This is an example of the way Pisa has tended to gather byzantinizing panels, including the Virgin and Child in the Pushkin Museum. Cyprus, no less than Sicily, should probably be extricated from this Pisan group.

<sup>84</sup>Belli d'Elia, *Icone di Puglia*, no. 30 with color plate.

<sup>85</sup>F. Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414* (Rome, 1969), 59 and pls. 64, 67. Bologna attributes both paintings to Giovanni da Taranto. The link with the name of Giovanni da Taranto has been questioned by M. Antonelli, "Sulla datazione degli affreschi della basilica di S. Nicola di Bari," *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Bari* 1 (1954), 183–92. Nonetheless, the likelihood that the two panels are by the same hand is very great, thus linking the Bitonto panel to a painter associated with the Dominican order.

<sup>86</sup>See Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, 66, no. 129. Santa Maria Mannino, "Vergine 'Kykkotissa,'" 489 and fig. 1, links it with the Andria Madonna in Apulia.

<sup>87</sup>The network of threads binding the early icons of the Kykkotissa's tradition to Italy is remarkably intricate. The Virgin Theoskepaste in Paphos, first Cypriot Virgin with the red and gold veil (see below, note 94), holds her veil in place with a segmental crown like that of the early 12th-century veiled Madonna in



The red veil is clearly an addition to the figure known from the Sinai icon, and an awkward addition at that, that hangs around the hand of the Child like a guillotine.<sup>88</sup> The idea of placing a veil over the Virgin's maphorion is one that springs up in many parts of the Orthodox world in the period around 1200: one sees it in Russia in images of the Virgin nestling a Child who faces her;<sup>89</sup> one sees it in the scene of the Annunciation from around 1200 in the church of St. Stylianos at Kastoria and again in Pendeli in Greece;<sup>90</sup> one sees it in a miniature mosaic icon of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa now in Cracow, usually assigned to the thirteenth century though of uncertain local origin;<sup>91</sup> one sees it of course also in the white veils of Tuscany.<sup>92</sup> South Italy even affords instances of red veils, as in the thoroughly remarkable Madonna del Pilerio in the Archiepiscopal Palace in Cosenza.<sup>93</sup> The heavy embroidered veil, however, is rare and apparently Byzantine, appearing at Kastoria and in the Cracow mosaic, and then settling especially into the art of Cyprus. It occurs for the first known time on Cyprus around 1200 in the Panagia Theoskepaste in Paphos;<sup>94</sup> the Kykkotissa displays it for the first time in the Lyso Virgin.<sup>95</sup> That the Kykkotissa's veil is the same as the Theoskepaste's is shown by its decorative band running back from the temple. The Lyso icon shows us clearly that the

Vetralla in Latium and her many Roman replicas: H. Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990), 364 and fig. 195.

<sup>88</sup>L. Hadermann-Misguich, "La Vierge Kykkotissa et l'éventuelle origine latine de son voile," in Ευφρόσυνον: Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζιδάκη, 2 vols. (Athens, 1991), I, 197–204, argues for the Western origin of the red and gold veil. While I have been strongly affected by her linkage of the image with Italy, I have tended to interpret those links differently, seeing the posture as well known in Italy but the red and gold veil as a Byzantine phenomenon, found otherwise in the Cracow Virgin and the Annunciation at St. Stylianos, Kastoria, but not in the West.

<sup>89</sup>V. N. Lazarev, *Vizantiiskaia Zhivopis'* (Moscow, 1971), 319–20, reproduces icons of ca. 1200 in the Russian Museum in Leningrad and in the Uspenskii Sobor in Moscow, the latter in color in idem, *Russkaia Ikonopis': Ikony XI-XIII vekov* (Moscow, 1971), pl. 8.

<sup>90</sup>E. N. Tsigaridas, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Λατόμου Θεσσαλονίκης και η βυζαντινή ζωγραφική του 12ου αιώνα*, Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών, Μακεδονική βιβλιοθήκη 66 (Thessaloniki, 1986), pl. 110 B; D. Mouriki, "Οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες των παρεκκλησίων της Σπηλιάς της Πεντέλης," *Δελτ. χριστ. Αρχ.* 7 (1974), 91–92, on the veil of the Virgin in the Annunciation in the south parecclesion at Pendeli of the 13th century.

<sup>91</sup>A.-A. Krickelberg-Pütz, "Die Mosaikikone des H. Nikolaus in Aachen-Burtscheid," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 50 (1982), 85–86, 133 n. 350; I. Furlan, *Le icone bizantine a mosaico* (Milan, 1979), 56–57, no. 12 and color pl. 1. I thank Natalia Teteriatnikov for my knowledge of this icon; I thank Nancy Patterson Ševčenko for help with bibliography. The distinctly Latin form of the "M" seems to link the piece with a Latin patron; I find Krickelberg-Pütz's association of the work with Latin Constantinople more persuasive than Furlan's with Cyprus.

<sup>92</sup>The Virgin's white veil is seen in panels from Pisa—perhaps first of all in the mid-13th-century Madonna del Mantellini preserved in Siena (E. Carli, *Pittura medievale pisana* [Milan, n.d.], pl. 83)—and also in Sienese panels beginning with the Bordone and San Bernardino Madonnas: see R. W. Corrie, "The Political Meaning of Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna and Child in Siena," *Gesta* 29.1 (1990), 65 and passim.

<sup>93</sup>M. Rotili, *Arte bizantina in Calabria e in Basilicata* (Cava di Tirreni, 1980), pl. LXVII; M. Frinta, "Relief Decoration in Gilded *Pastiglia* on the Cypriot Icons and Its Propagation in the West," in *Πρακτικά του δευτέρου διεθνούς κυπριολογικού συνεδρίου*, 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1986), II, 542.

<sup>94</sup>Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες της Κύπρου* (as in note 1), pl. 15a. It is this figure, not the Kykkotissa herself, that recurs in the Sinai diptych with the Virgin and St. Prokopios (see above, note 64) and again in the icon of 1396 from Breznice, now in the National Gallery in Prague: H. Belting, *Bild und Kult* (as in note 66 above), 375 and pl. 204.

<sup>95</sup>Sophocleous, "Η εικόνα της Κυκκοτίσσης" (as in note 52 above), gathers a cluster of icons of the Kykkotissa type that he assigns to much the same late-13th-century date as the Lyso Virgin, including the veiled and miraculous Panagia Kibotos in the village of Hagios Theodoros.

veil had been acquired by the Kykkotissa before any of the surviving south Italian icons were painted. This garment distinguishes the Kykko icon from other uses of the pose, be they in Sinai, on the one hand, or be they in Italy, on the other.

The lesson of the Kykkotissa's veil for our purposes, I believe, is that south Italy's icons do not reflect the Kykkotissa herself, nor did Cyprus acquire the pose from south Italy. They both had it because they belonged to a very similar culture, and they both elaborated it in ways of their own. They did so not because one influenced the other, but because they were similar. So often we look from Cyprus to Italy as if we were looking over a divide. In fact, in the case of south Italy, we are looking at something remarkably similar. Italy was not an entity; it was a multiplicity, and if some parts were different from Cyprus, others were not. In south Italy we do not look in over a barrier; even Tuscany had aspects of congruency with Cyprus. The veil teaches us this.

In the most concrete of its many dimensions, I think the red and gold veil is a Cypriot identifier. Cyprus was known internationally, if it was known at all, as the purveyor of luxury textiles, above all the so-called camlets of silk and camel hair, and textiles woven with golden thread. In the West they were known as *or de Chypre*;<sup>96</sup> their value in Islamic areas is summed up in the poignant last sentence of Makhairas' chronicle: "... when the Saracens had captured the island, it was found that the King [Janus] had 2000 gold ducats, and they were taken from him, and camlet was bought for the tribute to the sultan."<sup>97</sup> Among the fabrics woven with gold, grid patterns are the ones most associated with Cypriot work;<sup>98</sup> we have seen them both in Maria's dress and the Kykko Mary's veil. The red and gold veil seems in this sense to be a sign of Cyprus. It fills another role too, however, at least in the Theoskepaste. The church of the Theoskepaste got its name because it was protected from an Arab raid in 749 by the Virgin Mary, who veiled it in fog so it could not be seen.<sup>99</sup> The veil may well derive from this story. This is, however, also the story that is told of the Virgin at Siena on the eve of the Battle of Montaperti in 1260, which is associated with the white veil of Sienese Virgins.<sup>100</sup> To this extent, even Tuscany belonged to the same rather than a different world than Cyprus.

This article assembles a rather hieroglyphic group of images; let me sum up what I believe can be read in them. First, Italy was not an integer, but a multiplicity, of which some parts are to be seen not as over a divide, but as very much part of the same culture as Cyprus. Thus the story of the Italians' role in Cypriot painting is not one of an undifferentiated rising tide of influence, but rather a mosaic in which different areas of Italy

<sup>96</sup>Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus* (as in note 8 above), 141. Rice's remains the only substantive survey of Cyprus' textile production: see *ibid.*, 140–43, 174–79. More perhaps than the traditional medium of painting, the media of textiles and small luxury objects would tell us about the role of Cyprus in the lives of Europeans during the Lusignan period, and it would be valuable to pursue the task sketched so bleakly by Boase ("The Arts of Cyprus" [as in note 4 above], 194) of combing European collections for Cypriot textiles. Jaroslav Folda, for instance, adds to Boase's note 28 on page 194 a Cypriot attribution for the embroidered silk Grandson Antependium in the Historical Museum in Bern. He cites M. Stettler, *Bildteppiche und Antependien im Historischen Museum, Bern* (Bern, 1959), sect. IV. The antependium is reproduced in E. R. Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown: The Life and Times of Othon de Grandson* (Chicago, 1961), after p. 78.

<sup>97</sup>Makhairas, *Recital* (as in note 24 above), 142–43.

<sup>98</sup>Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus*, 143–44, 147–49.

<sup>99</sup>The story is told often. See Jeffrey, *A Description* (as in note 41 above), 404.

<sup>100</sup>Corrie, "The Political Meaning," 65.

played different roles with different chronological profiles. Italian elements did not so much increase in Cyprus over the late Byzantine centuries as they simply changed. The part of Italy that we most readily think of as influencing Cyprus—namely Venice—was in fact a late-comer to the story of Cyprus’ artistic relations with Italy. Other parts of Italy, in particular Tuscany, played a larger role earlier, and south Italy had a kinship with Cyprus that cannot even be formulated in terms of influence.

The prominence of Tuscany indicates, in the second place that we must not lean too heavily on the role of commerce to explain the interchange that did occur. There are two reasons for this. First, function may have outweighed the aesthetic play of the market. Habits of the Latin church on Cyprus and of the Mendicant missionaries who traversed it, and the enthusiasm of Latins for holy icons, such as the Kykkotissa, may have been more potent in forging corridors of interchange than the commodification of art so readily associated with the Italian merchants who trafficked in Orthodox lands. Second, and more significantly, much of what we perceive as Italian reached Cyprus not directly from Italy itself, but indirectly as part and parcel of larger artistic movements—imports from Constantinople or the artistic koine shared with Cilicia. By both avenues, Italian elements reached Cyprus under the guise of familiar local or Orthodox tradition.

This, in turn, leads to my final point, which concerns the question of what was “Byzantine.” Cypriot art absorbed a great deal that we today would not label as Byzantine. But it did so without in any way compromising the sense of ownership that the Orthodox patrons felt for it. Hybrid as it might look to us, it could trigger fierce and abrupt outbursts of proprietary loyalty. Not far from Lyso, at the church of Sts. Kirykos and Ioulitta, we find a lavish cycle of murals of the fifteenth century. The scenes include many details that our eye picks out as Italianate. Yet in the painting of the Pentecost, the “ethne” are depicted with pointed precision as—precisely—Italians (Fig. 23).<sup>101</sup> Cypriot viewers, clearly, could, on the one hand, embrace as their own Italianate elements in their visual art and, on the other hand, disclaim the Italians as an alien race. Had there been a concern on Cyprus about the orthodoxy of this hybrid, Italianized art, we would, I think, see signs of boundary formation: of selective and puristic preference for some kinds of Byzantine art over other kinds. Rather, as we have seen, the styles on Cyprus were varied and not readily categorized by class, faith, or ethnic group. Painting, then, confirms the very ambiguity of Byzantinism we saw at the beginning: Cyprus’ painting was very hybridized, but for that very reason Orthodox Cypriots could disregard all boundaries and embrace their art with abrupt and intense loyalty as truly Byzantine.

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<sup>101</sup>Karageorghis, *The A. G. Leventis Foundation* (as in note 14 above), pl. p. 34.